/Pages i-iv are title pages./

/v/ Foreword

101 114 I wrote this book in collaboration with the tribes of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and particularly the Seksawa. Nothing is more fierce, better preserved than these sons of the 824 black schist. The dizzy slope that goes up to one of their high places, the Tichka, bears an isolated tree that they call tasghart [856] wawal, something like "the tree of speech." They administer 122 its leaves in an infusion to children slow to speak. I have spent a good deal of time myself in unraveling the language of the Seksawa.

123 124 Abandoning the doubtful method of the "informant" and of questionnaires, I would let the problems and the facts come to me. A year passed before I reached the level of the accounts composed, around 1925, at Imintanout by Lieutenant de La Chapelle. I collected the best of my provender almost by chance, by means of visits in the mountains, long talks on the roads, judicial debates, festivals, evenings. Thus friendships and knowledge deepened simultaneously.

I had the joy of sharing the one as well as the other with many visitors. They will recognize themselves here. Perhaps they will conjure up, in reading such and such a page, that brief and shining hour, the irreplaceable bit of life that momentarily united us in the history of the Atlas.

128 This book, therefore, was written in communication. Although it does not claim the authority of any of those who have read it in manuscript, by pieces or in its totality, it has greatly benefited from their remarks. All were valuable to it. But I could not say whether it has always profited from them as much as it should have. I can therefore neither hierarchize the gratitude nor have understood by it that I am acting on the authority of such and such of the masters who have expressly wished to advise me. The imperfections of my work will be alone, alas, to face the too-just criticism. I do, however, acknowledge my debt to MM. G. Davy, L. Gernet, R. Montagne, /vi/ J. Célérier,

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./
174 is one Tagund'aft, from which the famous Gund'afa came (1).
619

1. Origin naturally spurned by the latter.

There is also a mound of pebbles, the Rrud'a n-sidi Ah'med u Ali. It is undoubtedly the relic of a lustration. A great saint be-
[776] came /89/ guarantor and patron of the a. Lh'sen. Without his intervention, their crime would not have been pardoned for them. Thus they prosper. From their terrible history, they have preserved only a military tradition and pride in their past. They are found in recent times supporting the ambition of a great chief.

The ground won from the Demsira was allotted among ikhs-s,
[423] and traces of this distribution exist today, to the point of presenting nice symmetries. But the lands were not only won by force. Concurrently, they were bought up from the legitimate owners, and numerous documents referring to the ethnic Demsiri are still exhibited in the proceedings between a. Lh'sen and even a. Abdella. Military prize? granted, but juridical regularization. Violence? granted, but legitimacy. Thus is renewed, across the bloody adventure of men, the mysterious accord of the soil and its peasants.

The Stage of Arrival

121 For the contemporary period, we mean since the beginning of
• 124 the twentieth century, we simultaneously have at our disposal local witnesses, who put the research in continuity with the oldest tradition, and foreign and critical witnesses: our observers. Now
[631] one thing strikes the latter upon their arrival in the country: the existence of "great caids," like the Mtuggi, and of candidate great caids, like several mountain chiefs. Are they right in attributing such importance to them -- from a scientific viewpoint, of course -- and to put in the foreground the contest between these personal powers and the democratic institution?

Intermittences of Personal Power

173 For this contest was nothing new. The tradition of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ preserves numerous lists of chiefs, from which

*631 /143 cont./
642 amghars, then to that of the great Berbère /Berber/ chiefs of the
[177] mountains, and finally to effective domination by the Makhzen.
[178] In order to study the republican institutions, it will suffice
[121] for us to describe the former state of the western Haut-Atlas
•[124] /High Atlas/, calling upon the still-precise memories of the old men and observing the social state that has been preserved in the most secluded mountain valleys; it is in this region, to which one could give the name of "Kabylie du Haut-Atlas" /Kabylia of the High Atlas/, that it will be easiest for us to find again the most highly developed form of Berbère /Berber/ government, that of the /144/ assemblies of notables, presided over by a "moqaddem" named for one year. The Sous plain, before its submission to the Makhzen, the Sirwa, the region of the Dadès, of the Todgha and the valleys of the Atlas that descend there offer us analogous examples of oligarchic organization. On the other hand, the region of the Ida Ou Tanan, the mountains of the western Anti-Atlas, with their more egalitarian constitutions, are more attached to a democratic organization. We can then
[121] easily show, by a rapid comparison with other groups of the Jbala, of the Senhaja of Srair of the Rif, and of the Kabylie /Kabylia/, how the south of Morocco possesses, in spite of present appearances, a profound similarity of structure with the other regions of North Africa peopled by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ remaining faithful to their secular traditions.

121 It is still the same region of the western Haut-Atlas /High
*631 Atlas/, confined between the Nefis wadi and the Bibaoun pass,
*634 that appears to us to be the most favorable place for examining how the power of the amghars rises in the heart of these small republics. Similar in origin to those who appear in all the other Berbère /Berber/ tribes, we shall see these minor chiefs grow in importance here little by little, by means of the war, while depending on the territorial alliances that take the name of "leff."

Soon the development of the amghars' power will lead us to study the establishment of the regime of the great kaids. The chiefs of Tagontaft present the most perfect picture of this political organization, while those of Telwet and Bouaboud,

/147/

Chapter II
The Small Berbère /Berber/ States: Canton, Tribe, Confederation

000 I. The social units. -- II. Hamlet, village, subfraction. -- III. The "taqbilt," fraction or canton. -- IV. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general throughout the Sous. -- V. Constant dimensions of the territory of the "taqbilt." -- VI. The tribe: difficulty of defining its nature. -- VII. Equilibrium of the fractions within the tribe. -- VIII. Various categories of confederations. -- IX. The historic confederations. -- X. The factitious confederations. -- XI. The "canton" is the essential political unit in the Sous. -- XII. The social units among the western Jbala. -- XIII. Importance of the "khoms." -- XIV. Tribes and cantons among the Senhaja of Srair. -- XV. The khoms in the anarchic Rif. -- XVI. The Kabyle "taddert" and "arch." -- XVII. Importance of the canton, political cell of the Berbère /Berber/ States.

121 I. The social units. -- In order to distinguish the true nature of the political institutions of the Moroccan South, we had to seek, beyond appearances, the permanent reality constituted by the small Berbère /Berber/ republics of the mountains. Behind the feudal façade recently put up by the masters of the Atlas, we perceived the resistance that the tribes, stubbornly attached to their democratic or oligarchic institutions, have for several generations set against the amghars and kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

Before studying the play of the forces that led to the transformation of the country, it is necessary to examine the external aspect of the small social units of the Sous, to trace out their contours, and to determine the nature of the alliances that unite them in larger groups. Neglecting for the moment to consider the administrative divisions of our time, we shall put off until later the study of the great commands, of their organization and boundaries, and we shall try first of all to study the nature of the
• [124] parts that constitute them. This time again the inhabitants of the upper valleys remaining free, or else, in the regions

/147 cont./

121 transformed /148/ in our day by the Makhzen, the old men who
•124 have lived the life of yore, will be our surest guides; better than the servants of the kaids, who know above all the divisions established in the tribes with a view to facilitating the assessment of taxes, they will be able to help us discover the social structure of the Berbère /Berber/ country.

121 Rapid inquiry permits seeing, as a matter of fact, that the
131 boundaries of the great commands do not correspond in any way to natural divisions; these frontiers usually follow the traditional
*631 boundaries of the tribes, but since they have been fixed by conquest, it also happens that they share in an arbitrary manner a territory formerly undivided; finally, in the very interior of regions placed under the authority of one of the powerful kaids of the mountains one observes the presence of small states, numerous and entangled, some superposed on others, whose long existence, attested to by local history, shows us past activity and
121 tenacious vitality. The same structural complexity also appears
*631 in the Berbère /Berber/ regions directly subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ -- such as the country of the Haha, the plain of the Chtouka, as well as in all the rallied or dissident Anti-Atlas. It is these small units, which the often arbitrary organization of the command has not always respected, which merit holding all our attention here.

62 The small groups out of which Berbère society is made up can
*634 be classed according to their degree of importance: the simplest
632 is the hamlet or village; the villages frequently combine to form
*631 the unit to which we customarily give the name of subfraction in our administrative terminology; several subfractions or some ten
619 villages constitute a small elementary state, which one generally designates by the term of fraction and to which we shall here give by preference the name of "canton"; a union of fractions, three or four, sometimes eight or ten, takes the name of tribe; a group of tribes or a considerable aggregate of fractions -- twenty or thirty -- that of confederation.

Although a confederation is divided into tribes, a tribe into fractions, a fraction into subfractions, and a subfraction into

/182 cont./

*634 616 171 spontaneous organization, but also in a large part of the bled makhzen /region controlled by the central government/ governed by the kaids. Nowhere, however, does this institution show such importance as in the mountains of the Masmouda, between the Bibaoun trail and the col of the Glawa. If one neglected to study it, it would be impossible to understand the conditions in which the evolution of the country proceeded for a century.

121 616 171 After having examined the nature of these alliances in the country of the /183/ Masmouda, we shall be able to compare them usefully with the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, with those of the chain of the north of Morocco, in the Rif and the Jbel, and with similar institutions that have been observed for a long time among the sedentary peoples of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura. Perhaps it will then be possible for us to perceive, in an apparent variety of aspects, the successive stages of the same evolution, and thus to bring new evidence of the unity of social structure of all sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

616 177 178 In spite of their vitality, the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ cannot be studied without grave difficulties. In truth, if they remain nearly intact around high summits, they have been profoundly affected for 50 years by the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and by the substitution of personal power for the small democracies and conservative oligarchies of former times.

*[634] [619] Just as we often find the boundaries of the cantons and former "taqbilt" half effaced by the new organization of the tribes, in the vicinity of the plains or in the big towns, so the memory of the leffs is beginning to be lost in all the parts of the mountains subject to the great kaids for two generations. Near the Dir, only

616 177 178 a few old men who still know the events of Sidi Mohammed's reign can tell us their exact composition. If we go up toward the summits without penetrating into the dissident regions, only the

•124 grown men who took part in the combats of the "siba" of Moulay el Hasan are reliable informants for us, for already the young men, who have grown up in obedience to the Makhzen /makhzan/, clothed in cotton, illuminated by the light of candles, used to the tea and to the improvements of our era, are at the

/183 cont./

616 same time abandoning the old mountain traditions and forgetting
177 the hatreds of their fathers. It is necessary to appeal to the in-
178 habitants of the Tichka valleys still unsubjugated in order to col-
•124 lect easily the information that interests us; in these tribes, the children themselves know the allied or hostile "taqbilt" that surround their canton, and for a few years longer, in the territory of the former confederation of the Genfisa, the institution of the leffs keeps the importance it had in former times in all the mountains of the Masmouda.

121 Reconstituting the map of the mountain leffs is, however, a
124 job for great patience. By questioning the old men, we succeed
616 only in discovering the alliances of each "taqbilt," whose politi-
*634 cal horizon never extends beyond the four or /184/ five cantons of the vicinity. It is thus necessary to multiply the inquiries in all the valleys in order to get to know the distribution of the opposed parties in the whole of the great chain. In this research our best informants are, moreover, often the most modest. The chiefs of tribes who know best the invaluable chessboard do not like to unveil what they regard as the secret of their strength and of their weakness; and when by chance they consent to talk about their leff, one perceives that the representation of it that they make to themselves is completely utilitarian and takes into account especially their personal friendships and hates rather than the most reliable traditions.

121 Moreover, in putting together all these partial inquiries, we
*634 sometimes find contradictions whose cause is at first inexplicable.
616 It happens, in fact, that in comparing the results collected in
128 various parts of the country one ascertains that fractions counted here as belonging to the same leff are elsewhere regarded as enemies; the correlation of the various systems of regional alliances that we can discover fails in the whole of the chain. The map that we can establish for these alliances of cantons thus forms a kind of mosaic whose various parts are as if broken and do not fit together exactly. In this case, it is by calling on the history of
[175] the tribes for three generations that one can get to resolve these
ooo difficulties. Having reached this point in the investigation, one

343 712 [178] /305/ Among the Ichkajen Imi, a single agadir remains in use, that of Azar; another one, which is found at Arg, has been in ruins for eight years. Finally, there are still three occupied agadirs among the Ait Dris: those of Amassa, Tajelt Oufella, Meggount; others have been in ruins for a long time at Akhferga, Amdros, Kormad, and Kakt.

These agadirs are of two kinds. There are those that serve solely as storehouses, these are the most numerous; others are used both as storehouses and as réduits for defense in case of attack on the village. The latter are, in general, more spacious and have a rather extensive place in the interior, permitting the old men, women, children, and animals to stay in shelter while the able-bodied men occupy, for defense, the few storehouses pierced with battlements and the terraces. There is [312] always a cistern in the interior of these agadirs-fortresses. In this category are included the storehouses of Talmakant, Assaka, and Azar.

[333] In general the agadir is built with schist, which gives good slabs, rendering the construction easy: the stones are put together with a clay mortar. The walls are thick, blind, and high. The general shape is square or rectangular, except at Ikis, where [351] one finds an oval agadir. The terraces, jutting out, as everywhere in the mountains, are storied, given the slope of the terrain and the constant height of the walls. In the interior a series [417] of narrow passages gives access to the different storehouses; from these passages rise ladders formed simply by a tree trunk grooved with notches on which one places his feet. In front of the door of each storehouse situated in a story, a little platform projects out, which affords room for supporting the upper part of the ladder coming from below and for placing the lower part of the ladder, giving access to the higher story. These platforms are also useful to the owner of the storehouse for stopping before entering his room. Each chamber has only one door and no window.

343 712 • 124 We were unable to obtain information about any written rule of customary law concerning these agadirs. It is nevertheless practically certain that very old ones do exist, especially among

[671] [178]

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
•124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to obtain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621]

1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

[423] The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[621] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[432] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[426] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the